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The Shape of Things

THE REPUBLICANS' NEW ANTI-INFLATION bill is about as efficacious as a shinplaster for a broken leg. The only good reason we can see for Mr. Truman's signature on it is that it extends export and transport controls, due to expire February 29, and provides the President with power to limit the use of grain by distillers. Its central feature is the pernicious proposal for voluntary allocation agreements that figured in the original House bill. As we pointed out last week, such agreements are unlikely to gain their objectives, and their immunity from the anti-trust laws is a dangerous precedent. All in all, the bill well merits the scathing comment of Wayne Morse of Oregon, one of the three Republican Senators to vote against it. "If this is the only remedy we offer the country for inflation," he said, "that inflation will continue to grow higher until the people demand a different course of action."

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CERTAINLY, IF REPRESENTATIVE KNUTSON has his way, inflation's growth will be rapid. For while his colleagues have been cutting a leaf or two from the top of the plant, he has been preparing a heavy dose of fertilizer for its roots. This is the new $5,600,000,000 tax-reduction bill which he has just introduced, a measure so artfully loaded with appeal to small, medium, and big taxpayers alike that it is being hailed as "veto-proof." Last summer, Mr. Truman rejected a Republican tax bill on the ground that it was bad both in content and timing. The new bill appears to distribute its benefits more equitably by adding $100 to personal exemptions and by giving the middle and higher brackets smaller percentage cuts. But persons receiving larger incomes will, if married, be more than compensated by a provision allowing for equal division of income for tax purposes between husbands and wives. Such a change in the tax law would make little difference to those with incomes below $5,000 but would afford substantial savings to those with $10,000 to $100,000. Even a much better bill would be untimely at this moment, for it would be bound to give a strong stimulus to inflation. On the one hand, it would add directly to purchasing power in the hands of the public and so swell the demand for scarce goods; on the other, it would cut sharply into the Treasury's prospective surplus and so weaken one potent weapon for combating credit inflation—a steady retirement of the public debt.

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THE SPLIT IN THE FRENCH FEDERATION OF Labor is much more complex than press dispatches have indicated. In part, it resulted from a widespread revolt among trade unionists against Communist direction of the recent strikes and the predominance of Communists in the leadership of the unions. In part, it represents a revival of old anarchist trends in the French labor movement. That the second factor is playing a role in the present crisis is shown by the refusal of several anarchist unions to join the Force Ouvière in forming a new non-Communist coalition. This two-way division, however inevitable, may result in a serious fragmentation of labor forces at a time when reaction is showing increased energy. Coinciding with the news of the break, a Gaullist mass meeting at the Vélodrome d'Hiver launched a violent attack, both on the left and on the authority of the National Assembly. Less direct but equally significant is a subtle maneuver to wreck the Schuman government, initiated last Saturday in the Assembly by René Capitant, De Gaulle's aggressive parliamentary lieutenant. Thus, by several parallel routes, France moves toward new political crises. In coming weeks, these developments will be reported and analyzed by our European Editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, who is now in Paris.

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THIS WEEK, ILLINOIS IS CELEBRATING THE hundredth anniversary of a governor who looms larger today than when he died in 1902. *Fortune*, of all journals, has described John Peter Altgeld as "one of the great underground Americans," and a lonely truth-sayer "when most men believed that power brought wisdom." While he lived, storms broke around his head—in 1893, when he pardoned the anarchists imprisoned for complicity in the Haymarket bombing, and again in the famous Pullman strike of 1894, when he took the part of the workers and their leader, Debs, against the government and President Cleveland. He was denounced

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almost universally as an anarchist and an unscrupulous demagogue. Apparently Altgeld was not much of a radical in theory. But by instinct and conviction he invariably sided with the weak and, in doing so, aroused the hatred of the strong and conventionally righteous. *The Nation* of that day joined in the general criticism, looking upon Altgeld as a man whose sympathies had led him into defiance of the courts and of orderly government. Today, his magnanimity and trust in the people, his contempt for repression as an instrument of democratic power, are qualities of which his country stands in urgent need. This journal, gladly reversing its ancient judgment, joins in honoring a man who sacrificed his career, his health, and his fortune to defend his own idea of human decency.

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BRITAIN'S HIGHEST COURT COULD HARDLY have granted the plea of a husband who asked to have his marriage annulled on the grounds that it had never been consummated because his wife refused to have children and insisted on the use of contraceptives. But the language and temper of the decision of the five Law Lords of the House of Lords, as set forth by Lord Jowitt, were such as to shiver the timbers of the Church of England and send a thrill of horror through the Catholic hierarchy. Lord Jowitt stated that the marriage law uses the word "consummate" as it is "understood in common parlance and in the light of social conditions known to exist." These social conditions, he went on to say, include the establishment in recent years of reputable birth-control clinics and their use by many young married couples. Moreover, he advised against too strict reliance on the wording of the Book of Prayer in regard to marriage and children. "It seems to me that the essence of the Christian view of marriage is that any child born into a family should be brought up and nurtured in the Christian faith. That is not the same thing as saying that a marriage is not consummated unless children are procreated, or that procreation is the principal end of marriage." It is not surprising that the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Westminster, confronted with Lord Jowitt's civilized heresy, declined to comment.

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THE NATION—AND HENRY H. COLLINS, JR.—had too good a scoop last week. The bill authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to use Commodity Credit Corporation funds to stimulate agriculture in non-European nations was introduced into Congress not, as Mr. Collins's article said, by Representative Jesse P. Wolcott in the House, but by the Administration floor leader, Senator Barkley, in the Senate. It was, however, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency instead of the Committee on Agriculture, and may yet emerge as a bi-partisan measure. In any event, it sidesteps the FAO.

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P.C.A.'s Quixotic Politics

IT IS not too late for Henry Wallace to undo a sad day's work by the Progressive Citizens of America. In casting the die for a third party last week, the P. C. A. seriously altered the political landscape of the country—and not for the better. Not only a whole series of polls but the results of last month's election showed clearly that the Republicans had lost a great deal of ground since their victory in 1946. If Wallace, following the prompting of P. C. A., runs as the Presidential candidate of a third party, the gains of the Democrats may well be wiped out. Close key states like New York, Illinois, and California may go to the Republicans without a struggle, in which case we can look forward to at least two years of rampant Taberism on Capitol Hill and, in the White House, four years of Taft or reasonable facsimile thereof. For the G. O. P., believing it can win with anybody, will do no fancy experimenting with pseudo-liberals or popular generals.

Before concluding that the two major parties were identical and that only Wallace could give the voters a genuine choice next fall, the P. C. A.'s strategists might have asked themselves *why* political sentiment seems to have shifted so markedly in the past six months. If they had, they would have sensed that, for all the weaknesses and mistakes of the Truman Administration—and we have not glossed them over—there is still a gulf between the two parties, taking them by and large, both in intention and in program. It is a far cry from the jungle economics of Republican Representative Knutson, who thinks the progressive income tax "conflicts with the American spirit of fair play," to the President's veto of the G. O. P.'s lopsided tax-reduction bill. No matter what dangers lurk in the application of the Marshall Plan, nobody can honestly ignore the difference—acknowledged, in fact, by Wallace himself—between the Administration's foreign-aid program and the vicious attacks of most Republican leaders on the projected "WPA for Europe." Nor do we see an identity between Republicans and Democrats on legislation dealing with inflation or labor.

With a record of having supported "Old Bob" La Follette in 1924, we are not ones to oppose a third ticket merely because it cannot win or because it will serve to elect the less desirable of the two major-party nominees. But it is impossible for us to welcome a third-party movement today or even to treat it as indulgently as the New York *Herald Tribune*. This good Republican organ coyly and understandably suggests that a third party which waits for ideal conditions waits for the millennium. The G. O. P. is obviously eager for this hazardous venture to get started.

The fact is that the P. C. A.'s decision could not possibly be worse timed. Perhaps we could afford to take a chance on electing Coolidge in 1924, but the world of 1948 presents a different picture. Connolly, of the American Labor Party, calmly writes off the results of the next election on the ground that "what is important is to form a basis so that in '52 we can elect a people's party." By 1952, the fate of the American economy may well have been sealed and the question of war or peace decided. It is all very well for Communists to entertain the hope that after the deluge their turn will come, but why should Henry Wallace invite either consequence?

It is precisely because of the abnormal importance of the 1948 election that the P. C. A., by its quixotic move, now finds itself cut off from every important labor group in the country. The C. I. O. high command turned thumbs down on the third-party idea months ago. The Railroad Brotherhoods would have no part of it in spite of A. F. Whitney's former bitterness against the President. The A. L. P. will almost certainly be split on the issue. And the P. C. A. itself has been severely jolted by the resignation of Frank Kingdon, Bartley Crum, A. F. Whitney, and J. Raymond Walsh—all officers of the organization and supporters of Wallace's political views. The attitude of labor is alone enough to make Wallace's campaign very different from La Follette's. Never before has a serious progressive group in this country even thought of launching a third party without major support from the trade unions. The result of the P. C. A.'s decision, if Henry Wallace agrees to run, can only be to confuse enough progressives to assure a Republican victory without establishing a mass base for a future third-party movement.

London to Washington

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE reasons for the breakdown at London have been set forth by the Foreign Ministers, and their versions vary exactly to the degree and in the form dictated by the diverse interests of their respective states. But when those interests are understood and discounted, a certain common denominator emerges from the conflicting explanations: in essence, it was the Marshall Plan that killed the Foreign Ministers' conference.

When the sessions in London began, *The Nation* made this comment on the outlook: "With the Marshall Plan still in the lap of the Congressional gods, the Foreign Ministers can do relatively little. For all of them must know that the future of Europe is being decided, not in London, but in Washington." In his report on the last day of the session, the New York *Herald Tribune's* correspondent, Walter Kerr, summed up the reasons for adjournment in these words:

> It is generally understood here that progress at this

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time was impossible because of the major conflict involved in the Marshall Plan and Soviet hostility to it. All four powers hoped for political and economic unification of Germany, but the West wanted it only on terms that would aid the Marshall program, while the Soviet delegation wanted it only on terms that would wreck the Marshall program. For this reason, the ministers never really got down to business.

So it began and so it ended, though I think Mr. Kerr's account understates the differences that exist among the Western powers on the organization and control of Germany. But, by and large, those powers are counting on the operation of the Marshall Plan in Germany and in Western Europe to block Russian aims and end Communist aggression; while Moscow is determined to defeat this strategy by every possible method—diplomatic, propagandist, and political.

In such a context, how could the conference have accomplished anything but noisy contention? Molotov has charged that the United States never expected or intended it to succeed; Marshall insists that he went to London "with an open mind" but that the Russians converted the session into a forum for unscrupulous propaganda. I think both versions are patently true. The Secretary of State would have done better to be frank about his own expectations; certainly, America's plans for organizing Western Germany as a separate state, in fact if not in name, were freely discussed in advance of the conference. As for Russia, it has never attempted to conceal, except in detail, the rapid integration of the Soviet zone with its own political and economic structure, or its purpose to win German support by promising political unity and higher living standards. At London, the world was treated to the spectacle of Russia and America competing without apparent shame for the favor of their late enemies.

The talks broke down on the Soviet demand for reparations out of current production; but this was an occasion, not a cause. Any one of the previous disagreements —over Austria, or what nations should be accepted as participants in the peace conference, or whether a frontier commission should be set up, or what sort of German government should be established, or any of Molotov's declamations on Western imperialism and American plans to enslave Europe—might have provided an equally suitable issue; perhaps even more suitable, since Molotov had expressed a willingness to compromise on reparations. The talks broke down because they had degenerated into a slanging match, in which the advantage was held by the power that had most to gain from all-out attack. The delegates were taken aback when Marshall proposed adjournment; but from a strategic point of view, the General's move was correct. In a talking war, the Russians might win. They cannot win, Washington believes, in a war of dollars and food.

SO THE focus shifts to the massive plan of support for Europe comprehended in the bill for interim aid —reduced from $597,000,000 to $540,000,000 and passed on the last day of the special session of Congress —and the European Recovery Plan (ERP) sent to Congress for consideration when the regular session convenes on January 6. The hopes of Western Europe, which induced France and Britain to accept American leadership in London even to the point of rupture with Russia, must find their justification in an early and effective application of the plan. For if this program should dwindle to another measure of stop-gap aid, or if it is hedged about with self-serving qualifications, or if it is delayed and haggled over while European industries close down and hunger spreads, then we may be sure the prophecies of the Russians will take on new force and meaning.

What is the chance of quick action on ERP? Already, Mr. Taft, with his unfailing tact, has announced that Europe isn't really as badly off as the plan implies. "People don't completely collapse," he explained; "they go on living anyway." Already, Republican axes are being whetted to hack the Administration's estimates to a size consonant with Congressional ideas of spending in an election year. Already, we are warned, the idea of a four-year commitment is doomed to defeat; the Republicans want to save Europe on a year-to-year basis.

Even in its present state, the ERP contains many questionable provisions, as I. F. Stone shows in his article on page 696—provisions which will measurably limit the economic independence of participating states. If it is further distorted and watered down, the result may be as dangerous as no program at all. But to many Congressmen, it seems only natural that if the United States provides the money it must also be permitted to say how the money shall be spent: that is, how the industry and finances of a recipient country shall be organized, and what sort of government it shall have. We have made such control a condition of our increased financial support of the Bizone in Germany; taking over from Britain final say in matters of policy. We have done the same thing in Greece. And when the Marshall Plan was first discussed we made it clear to the governments of both France and Italy that their chance of qualifying for aid would be slim if they included Communists. Having established that ban, why should we not insist on other policies designed to protect our investment in recovery?

Since the Administration itself provided these precedents for interference and the setting up of political conditions, it will have a tough time persuading Congress that ERP is different, that Western Europe as a whole cannot be treated like Greece or the Ruhr. But this is what it must do. For if the majority in Congress adopts a Republican "Marshall Plan," the failure at London will be repeated in Washington, with political consequences throughout Europe too terrible to contemplate.

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ERP Goes to Congress

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 20

THE Marshall Plan, as sent to Congress by President Truman, has a magnitude which commands respect. Seventeen billion dollars "ain't hay," and no other nation in any other post-war period has proposed so magnanimous an effort at reconstruction. Unfortunately it is unlikely that the plan as finally approved will be adequate for its purpose—the recovery of Western Europe to the point where it can again support its present population through normal production and trade.

The key figure in the documents furnished Congress by the State Department is in the statement: Western Europe, in order to pay for its pre-war volume of imports, must export "perhaps 30 per cent more than pre-war in physical terms." This need for a 30 per cent increase in the volume of exports reflects the loss in the last war of the investments and colonial possessions from whose earnings Western Europe formerly paid for its net excess of imports over exports. These imports covered foodstuffs and raw materials.

In order to achieve so steep a rise in exports, Western Europe must modernize and expand its industrial facilities. It must vastly enlarge output and sharply reduce production costs. This requires capital, to feed its working people and to invest in new plant. But these requirements have been shaved too close in the plan as sent to Congress. Let us first look at the figures on food. The Paris proposals asked 40,000,000 metric tons of bread grains over four years; the plan offers only 23,000,000 tons. The Paris proposals asked 12,000,000 tons of fats and oils over four years; we propose to supply 2,000,000. To enlarge Western Europe's own output of food, Paris asked $1,200,000,000 in farm machinery; the President is prepared to make only half that amount available from the United States and Canada. The participating countries and Western Germany estimated that they needed a minimum of 600,000 tons of nitrogen; we offer 121,000 tons from the United States but believe 301,000 additional tons may be obtained elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere.

BEHIND these cuts, which endanger European recovery, lie a complex of private interests and habits we dare not disturb. Domestic soap and cosmetic firms must have their fats and oils; the fertilizer industry holds back on expanding nitrogen production. There is a boom market at home for farm machinery, and there is little disposition to enforce food savings. The threatening shadow of competing business interests is even more evident on the other side of the Marshall Plan program—the proposals for expanding Western Europe's capacity to produce and therefore to export. In steel, shipbuilding, factory construction, housing, and power the United States has lowered Europe's sights in deference to its own basic industries, which fear European competition.

The American steel industry dislikes increased production abroad as much as at home. The Paris proposals envisaged a $2,500,000,000 expansion in steel plant, requiring $400,000,000 in new equipment from the United States. The Marshall Plan cuts this to $192,000,000. The Paris proposals also asked scrap and semi-finished steel for fabrication in Europe. The Marshall Plan offers no scrap and very little semi-finished steel but suggests a sharp increase in the sale to Europe of American finished steel. The industrial strategy of these changes in the steel proposals is clear. Similar, if more complex, is our attitude on shipbuilding. The Administration seeks at one and the same time to cut down European steel requirements for shipbuilding and to discourage the production of too much competing tonnage in European yards by contributing 500 cargo ships from war surplus to carry Marshall Plan supplies. This proposal would also cut the dollar cost of the plan substantially, but it has already run into opposition from both capital and labor in the American maritime industry, which wants supplies carried in American bottoms.

In oil refining the motivations are similar but the pattern different. This is the one major industry in which the Marshall Plan has vastly increased the goals proposed at Paris. The Paris conferees asked a half-billion dollars' worth of oil-refining equipment for Western European oil companies. The Washington proposals suggest that the Marshall Plan include "allowances needed by United States companies within the participating countries" and raise the sights to one and a half billion. United States oil companies foresee a richly profitable market in Europe for cheap Middle Eastern oil and are anxious to control the refining as well as to supply the crude. In this connection one should note that the bill sent to Congress with the President's message would authorize dollar-for-dollar guaranties of American private oil investments under the plan up to a total of $850,000,000. The guaranties would be good for fourteen years, and both the oil companies and other American concerns holding blocked marks—which include the war profits of their German subsidiaries—can be expected to make good use of them. But this may also cut further into the dollars available for European recovery plans.

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THE Paris proposals sought the restoration by 1952 of a standard of living in Western Europe slightly below that of 1938. "So rapid an improvement," says the State Department analysis accompanying the Marshall Plan message, "cannot be achieved." It certainly cannot be achieved on the basis of the Paris proposals as reduced and modified by the Marshall Plan. The United States suggestion is that Western Europe eat less and export more, but can we achieve political stability in a framework of still greater economic "austerity"? The State Department analysis admits that if Western Europe can attain the level of exports assumed by the American program, with imports no greater than those allowed for, "those countries will be subjected to the most severe strain that free countries can be expected to bear under the circumstances of the times." The department, with a wary eye on Congress, pleads that "assistance on a smaller scale" would prolong "the very situation that makes assistance necessary." The scale set by the President is already too small for safety, but Congress will almost certainly whittle it down. There will be a strong move to give primary emphasis to the rebuilding of Germany and to enlarging the scope and volume of the guaranties to private investors seeking bargains on the distress counters of Europe.

The most serious obstacle of all to Western European recovery lies in the tendency to "sell" the Marshall Plan here on an anti-Communist basis. For one has only to read through the supporting documents, with their bland assumptions about mounting deliveries to the west of Polish coal and Soviet timber, to see how essential is revival of east-west trade in Europe. But how is this trade to be revived in an atmosphere of increasing tension between the United States and Russia? The Marshall Plan, as sent to Congress assumes that in four years Western Europe will be able to buy twenty-five billion dollars' worth of essential goods from "non-participating countries outside the Western Hemisphere" and sell them twenty-two billion dollars' worth of goods. These huge totals depend largely on recovery in Eastern Europe. Can they be achieved in the course of an anti-Soviet crusade, which discourages good trade or other relations with the Soviet bloc? These are the crucial, perhaps fatal, contradictions of the Marshall Plan.

Radio Starts to Grow Up

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

AN UNMARKED anniversary has lately passed, that of the broadcast (October 10, 1938) of "The Men from Mars," after which thousands of terrified Americans wept or prayed, sped frantically away in cars—where to didn't matter—or snatched a last meal from the icebox before they met their Maker. The anniversary seems worth recalling as we again witness, in the witch hunts of today, the susceptibility of modern man to mass hysteria.

Radio still feeds on the credulity and escapist impulses of a people troubled in spirit and confused in mind, but there have been signs in 1947 of a developing maturity. Radio has turned, on a few significant occasions, from fantasy to facts and played its mirror on the nature and occasion of our discontent. A new kind of radio is coming into being. Its originators call it the "radio documentary." If it is not to be still-born, it must be acclaimed and fostered by those who recognize its great potentialities.

Though largely dominated by men with a cash complex and a cynical contempt for ordinary listeners, radio has always mustered a few people who combined appreciation of its power with a sense of social responsibility and an awareness of the cultural crisis to which radio and other mass media have contributed. It is to two of these that we owe the radio documentary—Edward Murrow, until lately CBS vice-president in charge of public-service programs, who conceived it, and William Paley, chairman of CBS, who with a nicer conscience and a shrewder sense of salesmanship than his own account executives gave it the invaluable support of his authority. As a result of their collaboration a documentary unit, headed by Robert Heller, was created in CBS, given generous funds both for research and for production, ample time—no deadline for any broadcast was fixed—and unusual promotional facilities. Best of all, these documentary programs have gone on the air at hours convenient for people not plagued with insomnia. What have they attempted and what have they achieved?

The radio documentary is concerned, first, to give us facts about the unfinished business of democracy, to report on man's conscious or unconscious inhumanity to man. It is concerned, secondly, to show us our responsibility for the inhumanity in our society and to prompt us to action, though not to prescribe it. It observes scrupulously radio's proper function with respect to social problems, which is to give us facts without seeking to

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influence our decision on the facts. The documentary does not preach. It points. Its virtue and discretion lie in its choice of areas in which its fact-finding is carried on.

Successive programs have given us the facts in a wide range of problems. The first was "The Empty Noose." In this the war criminals of Nürnberg were arraigned before us. We heard the charges and the verdict. We were moved to indignation—by a dramatic record of the facts. But lest indignation provide an alibi for conscience, there followed a disturbing but salutary question: "We hanged these men. But did we hang the crimes that they committed?" The program ended with some brutal facts on our own treatment of Jews and Negroes who had returned, in uniform, from the service of their country. The audience did not like this last, but it listened.

The second, "The Eagle's Brood," dealt with juvenile delinquency—its causes and the medieval cruelty and ineffectiveness of our reform and prison system. The third, "A Long Life and a Happy One," dealt with public health and the unfinished business of the medical profession. The fourth, "Experiment in Living," explored new techniques for developing democratic leadership among the young. The fifth, "They Went Back," reviewed the war fronts two years after the war's end. The sixth, "Fear Begins at Forty," foreshortening time, precipitated our old age for us. It pictured the miseries of old people tossed on the junk heap of society, without work or funds.

These programs have cost money to produce. Beyond this, in order to make room for them, CBS has several times sacrificed advertising revenue by canceling sponsored programs. The results have revealed the readiness of audiences expecting entertainment to respond to the drama of real life. "The Empty Noose," for instance, was substituted, without prior warning, for an Ellery Queen "whodunit." All but a fraction of the listening mystery fans stayed with the documentary to the end. The same thing happened when "The Eagle's Brood" replaced "Information Please." Audiences, indeed, have been uniformly large, generally upward of five million. Correspondence afterward has run to thousands of letters.

BUT what is most interesting is that a precedent has been established. Through its documentary unit CBS is committed to a permanent if as yet modest contribution to public service. In addition, some of its affiliated stations have followed through with programs taking up, at the local level, where the original documentary left off. Listeners thus learn that "national" problems are only local problems writ large and can be solved by collective effort in the several communities. The problems of intolerance, crime, youth leadership, old age, and so on cease to be remote abstractions and are seen to be the consequences of our own personal default or apathy. In Chicago a CBS affiliate continued to discuss delinquency in a magnificent local series. In Minneapolis discrimination against Jews and Negroes in employment and housing was illustrated in the local context.

Runner up to CBS in this public service is ABC, which this year has given us four excellent programs on the teacher problem, two on slums, and in "Shame of the People" an indictment of the public's failure fully to exercise its rights or perform its duty at the polls. Recently, MBS has swung into line with two fine programs on the problem child in our public schools. NBC, oldest and richest of the networks, alone has failed thus far to come through with a documentary of distinction.

We can discern the promise of this new kind of radio in the reaction to these first experiments. A significant amount of the great volume of correspondence from listeners asks, "What can I do about it?" Conscience, or better, perhaps, decent neighborly feeling, has been stirred. "Men at some time are masters of their fate," and some radio listeners are rediscovering the fact. A few communities have formed councils to rid themselves of the abuses disclosed. The Department of Justice has asked CBS whether its own efforts to deal with juvenile delinquency might not usefully be synchronized with further efforts by radio.

Here, then, is a tentative blueprint for collaboration among government, radio, and listeners; here, in fact, is promise of that working partnership on which the success of our system of broadcasting depends.

However, it is promise only. We shall have solid social gain only when certain conditions have been met. We must have, for instance, more such programs—on CBS and on all networks. (For a start we might look for documentaries bringing to life the content of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights.") The practice of following through with programs at the local level must be more widely adopted. And documentaries must be presented at fixed times and at fixed intervals, with adequate advance publicity. Radio audiences are creatures of habit, and the documentary habit won't be formed until these programs are scheduled as regularly, if not as frequently, as Jack Benny or Fred Allen.

These are all demands on radio. But there is a no less imperative demand on listeners. If the documentary is to flourish, audiences must be mustered whose size and articulate response are comparable to the money and effort that go into the execution of these programs. It has been proved that audiences for entertainment and fantasy are responsive also to reality. To increase that responsiveness is only in part radio's job. Teachers, community leaders, trade unions, and other influential elements in the listening public have also a moral obligation. Yet to the detriment of radio and of the public interest it remains largely unfulfilled. Much of the best in radio today goes down the drain, unheard and unappreciated by those who are often readiest with criticism.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Hazlitt's Laissez-Fairyland

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

A JUST verdict on Henry Hazlitt's new book, "Will Dollars Save the World?"* is given by the author himself in his first chapter. "It would be ungenerous and shortsighted," he writes, "to minimize the appalling physical destruction and the enormous economic and political problems that the last World War brought to Europe." The remainder of his ninety-five pages represent an attempt to prove that Europe's present plight has, in fact, very little to do with the war but is the result of failure by the various governments to give unrestricted private enterprise its head. "Ungenerous and shortsighted" certainly are the adjectives to apply to this attitude.

Hazlitt's major premise is that European recovery is being thwarted by socialist experiments, economic planning, and government restrictions that prevent the forces of supply and demand from resuming their beneficent direction of production. His minor premise is that unless Europe mends its ways and sweeps away all obstacles to a free-market economy, any outside aid in the form of loans or gifts will prove futile. This leads to the obvious conclusion that since the imposition of such reforms as a condition of aid is impossible, Europe must be left to stew in its collectivist juice. Or, as Hazlitt puts it, "If our loans are made without economic reforms in the borrowing countries, the funds will be dissipated without bringing any revival; but if we insist on reforms as a condition of our loans, the Communists will exploit the powerful issue of 'dollar imperialism' and 'economic subjugation.' "

If American loans are not the solution for Europe's troubles, what can be done? Although Hazlitt is inclined to wonder whether there is any way "to save nations that are bent on destroying themselves," he does devote two and a half pages to "positive recommendations." He advocates private charity, provided the recipients show they are deserving. In an "overriding emergency" he would approve government gifts of food to Europe if every loaf were stamped "kindness of Uncle Sam." But, he suggests, our most important contribution will be to "expose the fallacies of European statism and socialism by our contrary example." The way to attack the Communist ideology is "to defend capitalism without apology." No loans for Europe in short, but a little charity and a bellyful of propaganda about "the merits of our free-enterprise system."

I do not wish to convey the impression that Hazlitt is a callous man. He is not anxious to see Europeans suffer; he chastises them for their own good in the firm belief that they can regain their prosperity only by swallowing the free-market, free-enterprise pills he offers them. Hazlitt, you see, is a fundamentalist, who believes that economic truth was established once and for all in the early nineteenth century. He is a man with a vision of the perfect state, a laissez-fairyland, where government is a policeman whose only job is to keep the ring while every man pursues his profit competitively with every other man, where the sum of all self-interests somehow adds up to the greatest good of the greatest number.

The presiding deity of this Utopia is not Mammon—in conditions of perfect competition profit tends to become more and more marginal—but the Goddess of Liberty. Nevertheless, free men for generations have been voting not for less and less restriction of the market but for more and more. So Hazlitt has little chance of establishing his Utopia unless he can make himself a dictator. That is a paradoxical and frustrating situation for an apostle of liberty, and it is not surprising that he is soured. Thwarted in his desire to build the perfect state, he is using his very considerable talents to tear down such constructive proposals as the European Recovery Plan.

Hazlitt is an able pamphleteer with a clear and vigorous style. He knows that one reason why economic writing is hard for the uninstructed reader is that the complexity of the material forces conscientious economists to refine and qualify their statements, often at tedious length. Hazlitt avoids this difficulty by ignoring the complexities and sticking to broad, unqualified generalizations. He makes a few simple points and drives them home by constant repetition. It's a technique well known to professional propagandists, and Hazlitt handles it with a skill that Molotov might envy.

Even so, in the competitive atmosphere of bookstores, Hazlitt's volume might not have attracted enough buyers to exert a strong influence on public opinion. To make sure of mass distribution, therefore, he arranged for its simultaneous publication by the Foundation for Economic Education of Irvington-on-Hudson, in the Sleepy Hollow country, an organization of which he is vice-president. This paper-covered edition is priced at 75 cents, with quantity orders obtainable at progressive discounts. Judging by the number that are now floating

* D. Appleton–Century Company. $1.50.

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around—one of our readers reports he has received five copies from five different donors—it would seem that corporations and business men who support the foundation are buying them in carload lots for presentation to friends, customers, and employees. Consequently, there is no need for readers to rush for the book: sooner or later they will probably receive one as a gift and have $1.50 saved toward the cost of a CARE package.

AMONG the recipients, we can be sure, are all members of Congress, and echoes of Hazlitt's arguments are likely to be heard in forthcoming debates on ERP. It is worth while, therefore, to subject parts of his thesis to a somewhat detailed analysis. Of special interest is the program of "*minimum* reform" (his italics) which he insists European nations must adopt to insure recovery. It includes the following items (my comments in brackets):

1. A balanced budget: to be achieved by cutting military expenses, social-security costs, food subsidies, subsidies to nationalized industries, building, and so forth.

2. Elimination of exchange controls so that the value of currencies may be established in the free market. [Admittedly, this requires amendment of certain statutes of the International Monetary Fund, statutes insisted upon by the United States with a view to preventing competitive currency depreciation.]

3. Abolition of price controls on either domestic or imported goods, and an "end to other regulations that prevent or unbalance trade and production." [This presumably includes an end to consumer rationing, allocations of industrial raw materials, and so on.]

4. Lowering or removal of excessive foreign-trade barriers.

5. Reduction of excessive military establishments. [On this one point Hazlitt's views coincide with those of the "Keep Left" Labor group in Britain, but not, I suspect with those of the State and War departments. Britain and France are the only Western European nations with large military establishments, and drastic cuts would probably necessitate withdrawal of their occupation forces from Germany and Austria. Does Hazlitt think that would be a good thing?]

Hazlitt does not test this program by showing how it might work out under actual conditions in different countries. He prefers to talk about "Ruritania," a mythical land which, he says, is a composite portrait of them all. Personally, I distrust this device, for such pictures are apt to be blurred. I propose, therefore, to discuss Hazlitt's formula in terms of the country I know best—Britain.

Unlike "Ruritania," Britain has a large budget surplus, so we can pass directly to item 2—elimination of exchange controls. This step Hazlitt regards as especially important, for, he argues, overvalued currencies are a cause rather than an effect of unbalanced trade. Britain, he holds, is short of dollars only because it wants to import more from America than it can afford. The pound is stabilized at $4 while its real value in a free market is probably $3 or less. Consequently imports are encouraged, since prices of imported goods are artificially cheap, and exports discouraged, since they are too dear. If the pound were freed from exchange controls, imports would decline, exports expand, and Britain's international balance of payments attain equilibrium.

No one can dispute the economic logic of this proposition; the only thing wrong with it is that the price of balanced trade would be malnutrition, if not outright starvation, for many Britons. British imports are not inflated; their present volume, in fact, is about 70 per cent of pre-war, and for Britons imports mean not luxuries but basic foodstuffs and raw materials. Nor can it be said that British imports are too cheap. Actually, Britain's "terms of trade" are much less favorable than before the war; that is to say, average prices of its imports have risen more than average prices of its exports. Devaluation would increase this discrepancy, so that it would take more cases of whiskey or more Wedgwood tea sets to pay for a ton of wheat.

Further cuts in British imports, coupled with removal of price controls, rationing, and food subsidies—all necessary steps for the restoration of a free market—would mean of course a tremendous rise in prices. That, in Hazlitt's view, would be all to the good, for he believes that the proper way to create capital for recovery is to restrict consumption through inflation. This prescription ignores the human element, takes no account of the fact that, under such circumstances, Britain's almost unbroken post-war industrial peace would be dissolved in a welter of labor strife as wages vainly chased prices. Britons have submitted to very sharp restrictions of consumption so that their cities and industries may be rebuilt and export trade rapidly expanded; but they have done so by virtue of a social compact based on equality of sacrifice.

FEW Britons, I believe, are prepared to exchange that compact for Hazlitt's free market, in which the devil takes the hindmost. I am sure he could not persuade the British Tories to adopt his program. Were they to do so the electors would reject them even more forcibly than in 1945. Hazlitt always talks as if "socialism" and "planning" were imposed by a "state" over which the people have no control. But in Britain at least the voters have the last word, and they are no more likely to cast their ballots for dictatorship of the market than they are for dictatorship of the Communist Party.

The same thing is true of the American electorate, and I am ready to bet Hazlitt that he cannot sell a genuine free-market economy to any major American party or

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political leader. He probably knows this, for when he formulates his example-setting program for the United States he pulls his punches. He suggests, for instance, merely a *reduction* in tariffs. Come, come, Henry. Why not say what you surely believe—that tariffs are incompatible with the sovereignty of the market and must be wiped out completely. And why are you silent about the need for abolishing price supports and other government aids to agriculture, subsidies for shipping, aviation, housing, and silver, the "fair-trade" laws, and all such blotches on the escutcheon of our "free-market economy"? Is it because, were you really to speak your mind, the Tafts, Knutsons, and McCormicks would refuse to take you seriously? Or are you afraid of alarming the business men who sustain the National Foundation for Economic Education with tax-free donations?

Planning Without Headlines

BY MICHAEL J. DE SHERBININ

Geneva, December 11

WITH each day bringing new evidence of the widening breach between Eastern and Western Europe it is heartening to be able to report that East and West have been meeting during the last three months in a cooperative, business-like spirit in the conference rooms of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) at the Palais des Nations here.

ECE is based on a historical fact—the economic interdependence of all European countries—and its work has continued quietly while the "western" Committee of European Economic Cooperation, which wrote the report for the Marshall Plan, has been in the headlines. It was created by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations last March to "initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe, for raising the level of European economic activity, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the European countries, both among themselves and with other countries of the world." It was given the power to make recommendations directly to member governments without going through the council.

The new organization is absorbing three groups which are only a little older than itself. The European Coal Organization, which has done an excellent job allocating United States, German, and Polish coal to European nations since the end of the war, continues its work as the Coal Committee of ECE, beginning January 1, 1948. The European Central Inland Transport Organization has become the ECE Transport Committee, concerned with international transportation problems. The third organization, the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, was a more loosely organized predecessor of ECE.

At the head of the organization is the commission itself, composed of representatives of all U. N. nations. A number of committees, subcommittees, working parties, and the secretariat make up the body. The secretariat's chief job is to do the research needed by the various committees. Many excellent economists have joined the staff. The executive secretary is Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, a brilliant Swedish social scientist who resigned as his country's Minister of Trade to take this post.

All European nations concerned with the problems under discussion—except Spain—are asked to attend the ECE meetings. Five nations not members of the U. N.—Austria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland—took part in the recent discussions of the Industry and Materials Committee. The U. S. S. R. was represented at the two plenary sessions in May and July, but it has not sent delegates to meetings of committees and subcommittees. The Russians say that the problems considered are not common to their economy. United States delegates have been present at every meeting held here since the first one last May. Representatives of the German occupation zones attend from time to time.

Recently the Eastern countries have shown an encouraging interest and desire to cooperate. Poland, Hungary, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have sent key men from their economic-planning departments. They are looking for machinery or other supplies which can only be bought in Western Europe or America. Their choice in regard to help from America under the Marshall Plan was made for them by Russia last July, but they still have access to this U. N. meeting-ground to arrange increasing trade with Western Europe.

Emphasis within ECE has been on work, not on oratory. It regards itself as a technical body to promote economic recovery, not a political forum. All meetings except the plenary sessions have been closed to the press, and while the ECE has in consequence received scant publicity, the delegates have refrained from chauvinistic eloquence. ECE considers that its first task is to increase European production of certain key commodities whose lack now impedes revival. Committees are working to

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solve problems in steel, man-power, electric power, timber, and fertilizer, as well as coal and transport.

Considering the length of time it has been in business and the forces working against it, ECE is progressing well enough. The committees first met in September, October, or November. They examined the data prepared by the secretariat and then, in many cases, requested additional studies. For instance, the Fertilizer Subcommittee of the Industry and Materials Committee has asked for more complete data on the capacity and use of nitrogen-producing facilities in Europe. Myrdal himself gave a good appraisal of the work of ECE when he said recently: "At the minimum, these technical explorations will provide data to the governments on which they can make their own production and trade plans on a more firm basis. At the maximum, the objective of our work is the negotiation of production, trade, and financial arrangements among the countries concerned which will aid in the solution of particular commodity problems." There is no other forum in Europe today where government representatives of East and West meet to exchange economic information.

THE relationship of the Marshall Plan to the ECE is of course of primary importance. Last July, when the decision was made to form the Committee of European Economic Cooperation in Paris, there was considerable outcry because ECE had been by-passed. In Geneva Britain was generally thought to be the villain of the piece. However, a Russian statement of June 29 suggested that U. N. machinery should not be used for providing the United States with European economic data and that European countries should compute their needs from the United States individually. While Molotov, Bevin, and Bidault were conferring in Paris on the Marshall suggestion, the Moscow radio, as quoted by the London *Times*, announced: "The Soviet delegation does not, after all, insist that the U. N. Economic Commisson [presumably meaning ECE] should be given the task of receiving and collating the estimates. It prefers that it should be done by special European committees in which Allied countries should be given first place." In view of this attitude, it is difficult to see how the economic requirements of the participating countries could have been effectively and quickly considered by ECE, of which Russia is a member.

The Paris committee did not consult ECE last summer, but its report indicates a desire to use the organization in connection with the Marshall Plan. It counts on imports from the East to meet certain Western needs and time and again leaves the door open to Eastern countries that may wish to cooperate, mentioning the ECE as the organ through which this cooperation might be effected. ECE, for its part, has formed committees which cover all the economic sore spots, from fertilizer to steel, discussed in the Marshall Plan report. This is encouraging to the Eastern countries, which see in it proof that ECE means business—business done in Geneva, not Paris—and will help ailing Eastern as well as Western economies.

The effectiveness of ECE will of course depend on the general feeling between the United States and the U. S. S. R. If political relations become even more strained, the Eastern countries may be expected to be less willing to work with the West, and the Western countries may feel compelled to act as a "Marshall Plan bloc." This would definitely limit ECE's hopes of bringing Europe together.

In the Wind

THE AUTHORITIES CONTINUE to investigate the recent attacks on non-Catholic places of worship. . . . Falangist instigators are known to have been among the attackers. . . . Without any doubt these attackers were inspired by the September Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Segura, [who] stated that . . . Protestant churches shall 'not be tolerated' in Spain."—From a Madrid correspondent of *Spanish News Letter.*

"IT [the report of the President's Committee on Civil Liberties] should be forgotten as soon as possible."—The Mobile (Alabama) *Press Register,* November 9.

IN PHILADELPHIA, where Dennis Cardinal Dougherty has forbidden Catholics to attend, for the period of one year, movie theaters which continued to show "Forever Amber" over his objections, the Philadelphia Transit Company reports that "more copies of 'Forever Amber' were turned in than any other book in the history of Lost and Found."

"FROM THE PULPITS of every Catholic church in the city yesterday morning at least half of Pittsfield's citizenry was advised to vote 'No' on the referendum question of . . . proportional representation."—The *Berkshire Evening Eagle* (Pittsfield, Massachusetts), November 3.

"RADIO HAS NO APOLOGIES to make for giving to its listeners the best service extant. The trouble is the public doesn't know it."—From an editorial in *Broadcasting*, November 24.

A MUSICAL VERSION of "Pride and Prejudice" is being planned by M-G-M.

ANTON REFREGIER, painting a mural in a San Francisco post office, has been ordered by the Public Buildings Administration to eliminate from his design a projected portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In addition, Refregier was told to take out a banner celebrating the eight-hour day. "The eight-hour day is controversial," the Public Buildings Administration said.

THE OCTOBER, 1947, *Fortune* poll reports that more than 50 per cent of the American people (47,000,000 adults) are prejudiced against Negroes, Jews, and Catholics.

MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL!

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Del Vayo—"Talk Success"

London, December 16

REVISITING London for the first time in more than a year, I am happy to report that Britain appears to be pulling out of its crisis. There are still six very hard months ahead. From now until summer the British people will be on the lowest rations in their history. In contrast with the almost overheated homes of the poorest Americans, English flats are perpetually cold and damp. Although prices of necessities—food and various "utility goods"—are held down and the goods severely rationed, uncontrolled prices are absurdly high: a pair of fleecelined boots cost £6, 10s—about $26; a shirt that New Yorkers would consider expensive at $8 sells for $15 in London; the few luxury foods and liquors found in the black market command prices no one can afford. Some rents are controlled; others are inordinately high. A student whom I visited lives in a single miserable room, its red carpet in rags; he pays more than I do for my three-room apartment in New York. Altogether the British are having a drab time of it, and one of the unhappy results is a marked hostility toward foreigners, particularly Americans.

But of this I am sure—England will come through, and faster than even its own leaders believe. Indeed, the people, especially the workers, have shown more stamina than their Labor government. It would be unjust to minimize the government's achievements at home, which stand in sharp contradiction with its reactionary foreign policy in Palestine and Greece and Spain. On the whole the Labor Party's domestic program deserves praise. What is lacking, however, is faith in the capacity of the working class; the government simply does not know how to talk to workers, or for that matter to the public in general. Several times I heard Prime Minister Attlee broadcast in tones as oppressive as a London sky. Most other official spokesmen are no less querulous and melancholy. Seldom does a spark of enthusiasm or optimism, let alone revolutionary ardor, enliven their statements to a country struggling to carry through a social revolution after its own fashion. The miracle is that in spite of uninspired leadership the British people have shaken off the mood of impending disaster and come to grips with their problems.

Journalists must often fill the gaps left by statesmen. The London *News Chronicle* is one paper that has recognized the average Englishman's need of an encouraging word. In a new column called Talk Success, which occupies a prominent position on page one, this liberal journal is doing a job the *Daily Herald*, official organ of the Labor Party, should have tackled long ago: here it publishes dispatches from roving correspondents on what the British workers are doing. A typical column tells the story of thirty-six-year-old Jack Lee of Swanley, Kent, who has overcome the nemesis of the farmer—days lost because of bad weather. Another describes a group of forty women who marched into the mill of Bullock, Thornhill and Sons at Macclesfield to help man the machines and speed up production. The heroine of a recent column was Mrs. Emily Jackson, fifty-two, mill worker, who volunteered a month ago to help organize a relief shift of housewives at her factory. Letters in support of the *News Chronicle's* campaign are pouring in from all parts of Britain. "Start talking success" has become the slogan of this dreary winter. There has been launched, in effect, a kind of British "Stakhanovite" movement that demonstrates what the workers are capable of accomplishing when they are encouraged to rely, not on the uncertain generosity of a Republican-dominated American Congress, but on a social ideal and their own efforts.

According to official figures, British miners dug 4,356,200 tons of salable coal last week, breaking the record of 4,313,000 tons established seven and a half years ago in the post-Dunkirk spurt of August, 1940. On the day the coal figures were published, London papers carried, as a kind of comic footnote, the statement by John L. Lewis before the Senate Commerce Committee in Washington that the "British Empire is being liquidated before our eyes" because its miners and mine owners have refused to adopt mechanization. At this moment Britain is preparing to resume coal exports on a fairly large scale and thus obtain hard currency with which to relieve its rigid rationing system. On the heels of the coal story came the announcement that steel production last month—at the rate of 14,174,000 tons annually—was the highest for any November in the country's history.

These concrete indications of economic revival may have—at least so the best Labor people are hoping—a salutary effect on the government's foreign policy. The other evening in the House of Commons I asked some Labor and Liberal M. P.'s who had supported the Spanish Republican cause how they could keep silent in the face of the political murders now taking place in Franco Spain; that morning the papers had reported the execution of a student named Julio Nava, carried out with all the refinements for which the Falange is noted. Their answer was that the people have been absorbed in their own problems. Perhaps now that Britain is beginning to see the green light of recovery, we may hope for a more vigorous, independent foreign policy in line with the campaign promises of the Labor Party. Harold Laski says that dissatisfaction with the government's stand on foreign affairs has brought the rebels in the party up to 40 per cent in the last eleven months. In any case the advocates of unconditional acceptance of Washington's anti-Russian strategy are steadily losing ground. Announcement of the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement provoked the most enthusiastic demonstration the House of Commons has witnessed this year. Even Anthony Eden, acting leader of the opposition, rose to congratulate the government.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Journal of the War Years

THE MAKING OF YESTERDAY: THE DIARIES OF RAOUL DE ROUSSY DE SALES, 1938-1942. Reynal and Hitchcock. $4.50.

PERHAPS the dailies should adopt as their ideal old Ranke's formula: "as it actually happened." But even the dailies have to select—and how! No uncritical chronicle can be considered history. History is inevitably partial, relative, subjective. It is the light projected upon the confused mass of events by a doctrine or a personality. As such, it is worth exactly what the system or the man may be worth. I like works which attempt to explain; I enjoy even more the record of experience, when the recording instrument is sensitive.

Raoul de Roussy de Sales was an almost perfect instrument. A well-educated, aristocratic Frenchman, he was almost completely free from class and national prejudices. He lived for ten years in New York, as political correspondent for *Paris-Soir* and the Havas news agency. His was almost a diplomatic post: the Quai d'Orsay, directly or through the French ambassador, consulted him, and completely failed to heed his advice. His diary of the war years—1938 until his death in 1942—has the quality of Amiel's Journal: it reveals a questioning, anxious, despairing soul. Keen-sighted, disinterested, disenchanted, he does not seek to convince us (he thought his diary was unpublishable); he compels us to question ourselves. In comparison, most of the other war books are mere anodynes, meant to alleviate the malady of thought.

Admirably placed to know and to understand, he confesses he did neither. Nor did Hitler, Stalin, Churchill, or Roosevelt; as for Cordell Hull, he might have lived in another planet. Roussy de Sales is no infallible prophet. He failed, almost as completely as the State Department, to gauge the force of the De Gaulle movement, which he considered as "purely episodic." But no contemporary drew an accurate forecast. Lippmann asserted that it would never be necessary to send an expeditionary force to Europe. Marshall staked his reputation as a military expert on the proposition that Hitler would annihilate the Soviet armies in a few weeks. Did not the early Christians—so we are told by Reinhold Niebuhr—believe in the imminence of the Second Coming?

Roussy de Sales admits at the end that his congenital pessimism blurred his vision. This pessimism may have been aggravated by the state of his health. The chief cause of it was that he belonged to a world in which he no longer had faith. So he was at heart a traitor to a class and a country that he could not quite renounce. He is right in calling himself a bad Frenchman. A Frenchman, because he still held, with Maurois and St. Exupéry, that all Frenchmen ought to be united, a bad Frenchman, because he utterly rejected Pétain, the symbol of legitimacy, the living flag. He flirted with the "rebels" and "dissenters," the Fighting French, without fully committing himself to their cause. In the same way he was still a member of the privileged classes, those profiteers whose last round-up had been on the Riviera; but he despised that alleged élite, and himself for not having more openly broken with it. His tragedy was not radically different from that of Stefan Zweig. Disease saved him from suicide, or from a survival embittered by self-contempt.

There are two thoughts that stand out with the utmost clarity from these deeply moving pages. The first is that since 1917 the bourgeois world has never relented in its crusade against communism. Chamberlain, Hoover, Lindbergh were in their secret hearts—a very open secret—at one with Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, the Pope, and the Kaiser (odd to find that forgotten ghost, William II, proclaiming so clearly the Truman Doctrine!). Men and nations—Republican Spain, Czechoslovakia, Blum, Roosevelt, Wallace—were distrusted or hated because their anti-communism was not pronounced enough. It was obvious to Roussy de Sales that what we condemned in communism was not the dictatorial methods which we condoned in Franco or Chiang Kai-shek. This crusade, he says, "brings to the surface the normal need of the ruling class for repression. Communism only means in many cases the efforts of the working class to ameliorate its lot."

The second outstanding point is Roussy de Sales's anti-nationalism. It focused slowly. For a long time he condemns roundly "France" and "the French" ("I belong to a fine nation of cowards"), "America" and "the Americans." He accepts the nationalistic hypothesis but depises the idols that others adore. His attitude is almost akin to the anti-theism of Vigny and Proudhon: "There is a God, but He is evil." At the end he recants. It is foolish to talk of France, Germany, America, or of *the* French, *the* Germans, *the* Americans. There are individuals with an essential humanity (the Common Man) and with unique idiosyncrasies. There are collective trends, convictions, interests, but these wholly ignore frontiers. The nations are the epitome and sublimation of everything that in an individual we would condemn as mean. By definition, a nation—any nation—is (a) selfish (myself, first and last!), (b) smug (God's own country, Holy Russia), (c) brutal (absolute independence, above the law, can be maintained only by the sword), (d) cowardly (bullying the weak, considerate of the strong: what an improvement there would be in our manners if we knew for certain that the Russians have started the mass production of atomic bombs! And how our "realists" despised our old friend France when they thought she was down and out!), (e) treacherous (diplomats "lie for their country"; military attachés forswear espionage and practice it; we boast that we kept on good terms with Vichy in order to undermine Vichy), (f) hypocritical (all nations profess the highest idealism and behave "realistically"), (g) confused to the point of stupidity, for no nation has a single mind. The Germans are a good people and a bad nation; but theirs is only an extreme instance. There is no such thing as a bad people or a good nation. The "guilty nation" is no myth, because the guilt is inherent in the very idea of nation.

Within and beside these two great themes there are innumerable remarks

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in these pages that are profound, not because they are decisive, but because they are challenging. Certainly French and American civilizations, or ways of life, could have no more pitiless critic; neither could the bourgeois order, the Catholic church, Protestantism, even Christianity. Philosophy and science demand a constant revaluation of all values. Roussy de Sales is not the destroyer but the assayer. Any institution, any belief, that shrinks from the test is self-condemned. In the case of this ailing and fearless man, as in the case of Voltaire, the acid test is the manifestation of faith. God does not need our lies. The skeptic, the *jouisseur*, the profiteer do not waste their efforts challenging idols. Their one question is: "What is there in that racket for me?"

ALBERT GUERARD, SR.

Federico Lorca

THREE TRAGEDIES OF FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA. Translated by Richard L. O'Connell and James Graham-Luján. With an Introduction by Francisco García Lorca. New Directions. $3.75.

WHAT Lorca intended as a dramatic trilogy, taking his time about it, and occasionally shooting off at a tangent, is now available, for the first time, to the English reader in translations by Messrs. O'Connell and Graham-Luján. In these three plays, "Blood Wedding," "Yerma," and "The House of Bernarda Alba," Lorca progressed, quite consciously, from the Corinthian, through the Ionic, to the Doric style, a happy progress incidentally for his translators, who are rather at a loss when dealing with lyric passages or interpolated songs and on much surer ground—though they are not smug about it, as their revisions of "Yerma" indicate—when it comes to handling direct colloquial prose.

To the present volume the poet's surviving brother has contributed an introduction emphasizing the effect of the poet's passion for the theater on his life and art. Don Francisco is loving, persuasive, and eloquent, also a little diffuse; one sees, reflected in his memoir, a good deal of the enthusiastic, exuberant, hard-working, and altogether charming intelligence that must have been Federico's; and one feels, if not altogether ungracious, at least a bit uneasy at being unwilling to accept, completely, the doctrine that Lorca stands or falls by these three plays rather than by the "Romancero Gitano."

Three ballads from the "Romancero Gitano" collection appear in a selection of some two dozen poems of Lorca's, translated by Stephen Spender and J. L. Gili, published in London by the Hogarth Press and with the New York imprint of Transatlantic Arts, and listed here at the very moderate price of $1.25. These translations represent a revised, improved, and enlarged version of a collection published by the same translators in England in 1938; the emphasis here is on the literary rather than the literal, and there seems to be more Spender and less Gili than in the earlier book. In addition to some of the early lyric poems, some songs from the plays are included—the reader can make interesting comparisons between these and the Graham-Luján renditions; and two of Lorca's major poems, the Ode to Walt Whitman and the Lament for the Death of Ignacio Sanchez Mejías, are presented in their entirety.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Canada, Past and Present

CANADA: A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By Edgar McInnis. Rinehart and Company. $6.50.

THIS is the fourth good one-volume history of Canada to appear in the past five years, all of them by Canadians and all, contrary to previous custom, in American editions. Thus not only has the large amount of excellent basic research into Canadian development which was done between the wars been boiled down in synthesis, but it has been commanding American readers. The old imbalance in American concern about Canada and Latin America, by which the Panama Canal and Caribbean oil heavily outweighed the largest single economic affiliation of the United States, appears to be adjusting itself to aerial travel, atomic energy, natural resources, and Canada's role in American calculations about all three.

McInnis's history is an apt reflection of his general diagnosis of Canadian survival, that notable triumph over conflicting cultural traditions at home and that striking British and Canadian contradiction of American "manifest destiny": "It is this sound sense of the possible that has enabled Canada to surmount each successive crisis; and each one has uniformly been followed by a new period of progress in Canadian independence and Canadian unity, and by a fresh growth in economic strength and political stature." In fact, in his extreme care to introduce and to adjust emphasis among the French, British, and North American elements in Canadian possibilism, McInnis over-indulges in what should be an outworn convention of Canadian historical writing by giving almost 40 per cent of his space to the period before 1815. Once that admittedly difficult task is out of the way, however, he moves ahead with an easy mastery of existing knowledge and with the sense of proportion which might well have pervaded the whole book. Errors are almost non-existent. There is little or no novelty but, instead, consistently admirable consideration of the elements involved and, consequently, an enlightening introduction to the Canada of today. The prose is close-packed but lucid and fluent. There are almost a hundred excellently chosen illustrations of appropriately generous size. Liam Dunne's end-papers and maps are beautiful and communicative, but Mr. McInnis ought to have checked them, for the hatchings of that on page 4 are badly mixed up and the scales of miles on two others are, to put it mildly, whimsical.

J. B. BREBNER

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McGuffey's Readers

MAKING THE AMERICAN MIND. Richard D. Mosier. King's Crown Press. $3.

IN THESE days of the Freedom Train, the hunt for our heritage, the trailing of our traditions, Professor Mosier has a "natural" in surveying the social and moral ideas in the fabulous "McGuffey Readers." These collections of improving stories, excerpts from chauvinist speeches, uplift poems, and do-good essays were launched in the age of Jackson by the shadowy William Holmes McGuffey, about whom Dr. Mosier vouchsafes little information, referring us to an article in the "Encyclopaedia Brittanica" which doesn't appear in my 1944 edition (want to bet, doctor?). From 1836 to 1920 seven publishing houses sold 122,000,000 copies of the books. For generations of little red schoolhouses the readers were basic texts. In 37 states, New England excepted, the series of readers carried on by an army of contributors set down a pattern of middle-class virtues which makes the American Mind what it is today, God help us all.

At least that's the way Dr. Mosier sees it. Of course he assumes that all the little dears, especially in the Midwest, where the readers had their biggest circulation, took their McGuffeys straight, an assumption which the history of the radical and progressive movements in the Valley of Democracy would seem partly to refute. On the other side of the fence the Robber Barons, from the Rockefellers and Drews to the elder statesmen of the N. A. M. today, were all reared on the Bible and McGuffey, and grew up singularly unaffected by either.

For some obscure reason the publishers of Dr. Mosier's book announce that "the work is presented substantially as submitted by the author, without the usual editorial attention of the Columbia University Press"—which is a pity, because this work could stand editing, to say nothing of proofreading.

The author starts interestingly enough with the presentation of the issues involved in the Hamilton-Jefferson debates, which continue to this day. His sympathies are with the Jeffersonians, but he charges the compilers of the "eclectic" readers with loading the dice for the Hamiltonians and quite conclusively proves it by countless quotations. Then he rambles repetitiously around in a morass of petty-bourgeois bilge, forever harping on the theme that because of their enormous circulation these readers were "the studied and articulate reflection" of a civilization dominated by "middle-class ideals." Undoubtedly, but to label that drab cross-section of our civilization with the all-inclusive "the American Mind" is quite another matter.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Films

JAMES AGEE

IT IS time and past time to add my own useless comments to all those which have been provoked by the recent relationships between Congress and Hollywood and by the Catholic Veterans' holy war against Chaplin. But I can say very little. I might manage an adequate salute to the Catholic Veterans and to a church which has forborne, with such unfathomable patience, to commend them to the rack; but this is made impossible by the postal laws. I am still less capable of adequately discussing the case of the ten men cited for contempt of Congress, and fired by their employers. For the nothing that it is worth, I cannot imagine how any self-respecting man could, under such circumstances, hold Congress otherwise than in contempt; such contempt natu-

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rally extends to include those who, with such eager and prissy abjectness, hastened to disown these men—thereby reducing the hopes of every honest man in Hollywood from a desperately achieved 2 per cent to sub-zero.

I believe that a democracy which cannot contain all its enemies, of whatever kind or virulence, is finished as a democracy. I believe that a vigorous and genuine enough democracy could do so. But I see no reason to believe that this democracy is vigorous or genuine enough by a good deal, or to hope that it can become so; nor am I thoroughly convinced that such a democracy can ever exist except in the most generous and sanguine imaginations. It seems to me that the mere conception of a vigorous and genuine democracy, to say nothing embarrassing about its successful practice, depends on a capacity for faith in human beings so strong that on its basis one can dare to assume that goodness and intelligence will generally prevail over stupidity and evil.

This is, I would presume, the bravest and noblest faith of which men, purely as such, are capable; but I cannot see that this faith is any longer available, in the face of all the monstrous evidence to the contrary, except to one particularly obstinate kind of religious enthusiast; and I am convinced that a religious enthusiast who is required, on pain of heresy, so recklessly to underrate the power of evil and stupidity is in a singularly insecure, not to say insane, position. I think it would be possible to proceed on this assumption in any hope of sanity only among people who could share a minimum, however humble, of veneration for individual human beings, and of an ability to honor and trust each other's humanity, even in their fiercest differences. But it seems to me that virtually nobody, any more, chooses even to try to honor and trust even himself, or even his best potentialities. Failing that, it is of course impossible to deal honorably or trustworthily with others; and we have harrowing evidence what a peculiarly infernal mechanism democracy inevitably becomes when it is manipulated by and for people who no longer understand its meaning and purpose. The Stalinists are by no means the only enemies of this reverence for single people, and of the possibility of mutual trust, even among opponents; in that respect non-revolutionists of every kind and class have already depraved themselves, this nation, and "democratic civilization" beneath any likely prospect of cure. But among all these enemies the Stalinists are as ruthless as the worst of the others; are moved by the energy of idealism, of a kind, rather than the naive self-cannibalistic self-interest which is so ravenous here; and are the most intelligent, coherent, and vigorous, the best equipped in every essential way to turn all alternatives to their advantage, and to win. More elaborately than any others they have developed a science of contempt for present humanity, including themselves in their own scruples as individuals, in the name of future humanity, and a science for utilizing, and conquering, those who believe merely in each other, or merely in self-advantage.

Harmless therefore as these ten men seem to me as individuals—harmless and, some of them, a good deal better than that, and contemptible as those are who have fingered them out, or who have run from the opportunity to defend them and their own self-respect, it seems merely sensible to recognize Stalinists in general as particularly dangerous enemies and to settle as best one can the unhappy question whether or not one prefers, in the name of the brotherhood of man, to offer legal protection to a professional assassin in the practice of his vocation among the members of one's family. A secondary meditation might—or might not,—determine which members of the family are classifiable, not necessarily as human, or friends, but at least as enemies who can be lived with; and which of them can qualify even as watch dogs.

Yet the real crucial conflict is not between the Stalinists and the nominal democracies. It is between those who honor existence and so, necessarily, morality and those who honor either only in the hypothetical future, if at all. I have a few personal opinions as to who is who and how to know them apart; some Stalinists, I am sure, and even, believe it or not, a Congressman or two qualify more honorably than group-mad bigots can ever suspect as members rather than enemies of the human race. But to venture such opinions, of interest to few, of use to none, would be the more frivolous and impertinent for a reason somewhat more grave. Those whom I regard as friends and fellow-soldiers, many of them conscious and unimaginable millions of them never to become conscious, have already lost. And those whom I regard as enemies are already so securely in charge, throughout the governing of the world and throughout the so-called opposition groups, that one can care very little who fends off or dislodges whom, or which laws and principles, long insulted and injured, are at last officially put out of their misery—very little except in the tragi-comic intelligence and in a small but acute personal way. I shall presumably die a so-called natural death if the civilization within which I live continues in anything roughly like its present form—unless, of course, I offend one of its idiotic machines. If it does not so continue, I assume that my death will be even less welcome and more terrible than the considerable talent of nature ordinarily provides. I doubt that it will continue. It has been rotting above ground, on its feet, legally classified as alive, for a long while already, and will destroy itself either by failure to shut out enough of its enemies, or by definitively violating its own nature in its primordial efforts to defend itself, or by shutting out, along with some of the more conspicuous of its enemies, all those who might conceivably preserve within it some last flicker of humanistic sanity. Whatever happens, I doubt that war will ever be joined on the only issue which sane men could whole-heartedly give themselves for.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AMONG the opera recordings that have been accumulating are three of complete works: a Russian recording of Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin," issued here by Disc, which I will discuss next week, an Italian recording of Verdi's "La Traviata," issued here by Columbia (Set OP-25; 15 records), and Columbia's own recording of the Metropolitan Opera production of Humperdinck's "Hänsel und Gretel" (Set OP-26; 12 records).

The "Traviata" is conducted by Bellezza with routine competence but no trace of the musicality that revealed itself in the exciting phrasing and style of Toscanini's broadcast performance last year. The soprano of Guerrini, the Violetta, is strident and tremolo-ridden most of the time; the baritone of Silveri, the Germont, is fair; the tenor of Infantino, the Alfredo, is best of all, but his mannered style shows least understanding of the music he is singing—an example being his jaunty delivery of *Parigi, o cara.* Chorus and orchestra are good; and the performance is well reproduced, though with the usual European heaviness of bass.

The "Hänsel und Gretel" is conducted quite inflexibly (most noticeably in the purely orchestral parts) by Max Rudolf. It is sung in English—and I definitely dislike the English words with the German music, both for sound and meaning. Nadine Conner's small, clear soprano is right for Gretel; Rise Stevens' big mezzo-soprano, her strong tremolo, and her bulky cultivated enunciation are too much for Hänsel; the other singing is acceptable. The performance is well reproduced.

Columbia's second Metropolitan Opera recording is not a complete "Tristan und Isolde" but the Love Duet from the second act sung by Traubel and Ralf with Fritz Busch conducting (Set X-286; $3.35). It is without the cuts—and the disturbing discontinuities—of the older RCA Victor recording; and I have the impression that we now get the duet complete from *O sink hernieder* to the catastrophe (but again with an all-is-well final concord substituted for the catastrophic discord). In addition both of Brangäne's passages are sung in the Columbia version, whereas the Victor gives the first one sung and only the orchestral accompaniment of the second. And Fritz Busch paces and otherwise conducts the piece more effectively than Edwin MacArthur in the Victor. On the other hand the deterioration in Flagstad's voice, in the Victor recording, is slight in comparison with the deterioration in Traubel's, so that most of Flagstad's singing retains the lustrous beauty that Traubel's no longer has even when her voice is steady and clear, and much of the time Traubel's voice is strident and tremolo-ridden. Also Ralf's voice is fresher than Melchior's, but Melchior gets his phrases out with more continuity. And Flagstad sings the first of Brangäne's passages with the vocal opulence it calls for and that Herta Glaz doesn't have. I would therefore hate to have to choose between the two recordings; but if I did have to I suppose I would take the one that offered the complete piece and authoritatively conducted performance (which, incidentally, is well reproduced), resigning myself to the kind of singing one usually hears in the work—rather than the mere documentation of Flagstad's historic performance in a state of slight deterioration.

Among the RCA Victor offerings is a volume of Mozart arias sung by Eleanor Steber (Set 1157; $3). Though her voice

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is a little tremulous in *Deh, vieni, non tardar* from "Figaro" this doesn't prevent her from producing sustained phrases that make the performance a superb one. But *Non so più cosa son* from "Figaro" is spoiled by tremolo; and in the high florid passages of *Martern aller Arten* from "The Seraglio" (sung in English) the voice is at times a thin shriek. The orchestral accompaniments conducted by Morel are outstandingly fine; and the performances are well reproduced.

Beautiful singing by Jan Peerce and Leonard Warren is heard in the duets from Verdi's "La Forza del Destino" that occupy three sides of another volume (Set 1156; $3). There are good accompaniments conducted by Morel and Leinsdorf; and the performances are well reproduced. On the fourth side is a duet from Puccini's "La Boheme."

And on single records: The exciting beauty of voice and phrasing that Milanov is capable of are heard in *D'amor sull' ali rosee* from Verdi's "Il Trovatore" and a cut *Ritorna vincitor!* from his "Aida," with accompaniments conducted by Weissmann (11-9839; $1). The portentous phrases of Erda's Warning from Wagner's "Das Rheingold" come out in rich contralto coloring as sung by Blanche Thebom with an orchestra under Weissmann (11-9795; $1) with an aria from "La Gioconda" on the reverse side. Robert Merrill's rich baritone is heard in *Di Provenza* from Verdi's "La Traviata" with an orchestra under Morel and in the Toreador Song from Bizet's "Carmen" with Robert Shaw's chorus and an orchestra under Leinsdorf (11-9794; $1). James Melton's tenor is heard in a beautifully phrased performance of the Flower Song from "Carmen" with an orchestra under Morel (10-1329; $.75), with an aria from "Marta" on the reverse side. *Am stillen Herd* and the Prize Song from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger" are sung with *Heldentenor* sonority, rather than the lyrical style I would suppose to be more proper, by Svanholm with an orchestra under Weissmann (11-9791; $1). And Berglund's bass is richly sonorous in the Catalogue Aria from Mozart's "Don Giovanni," with an orchestra conducted by Blech, but his singing lacks the sharpness and humor of the music. All these are well reproduced.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Welcome to America

Dear Sirs: Your readers ought to be told of the plight of six young anti-fascists here, the first refugees from Spanish fascism to reach Oregon. They are young men between eighteen and twenty-five, and their arrival here, together with their subsequent predicament, has aroused enormous interest throughout the Northwest.

The steamer Arthur P. Fairfield, forty-one days out of Le Havre, reached Portland harbor on Columbus Day. As soon as the mooring lines were made fast, Pinkerton guards swarmed up the gangplank. They had had notice that six men who had fled from service in Franco's army were on board as stowaways.

The immigration service, after a secret shipboard meeting, ordered the six deported. Then powerful labor groups swung into action, with Don Wollam, agent of the Marine Cooks (C. I. O.), leading the way. S. P. Stevens of the Oregon A. F. of L. wired Senator Morse in Washington asking that political asylum be granted to the Spaniards, and Hank Curl, acting agent of the National Maritime Union of the Pacific, urged Attorney General Tom Clark to "get the Spanish boys off the Fairfield before it weighs anchor for the gallows."

As a result of these and other protests the Fairfield returned to Europe without the stowaways. They are now in a detention center in Seattle, awaiting the decision of the Attorney General on an appeal which a Portland attorney, Irvin Goodman, has filed in their behalf. The petition was signed by 114 Oregon attorneys. Other pleas have gone to Washington over the signatures of the Seattle and Portland C. I. O. State Councils; the National Association for the Protection of Foreign Born; Matt Meehan, executive board member of the Longshoremen's Union; Methodist Bishop McConnell; Dr. Francis T. Cooke, head of the Portland Council of Churches; and Rabbi Henry Berkowitz.

These are the external facts of a story which began in a Le Havre cafe last September, when the six men met for the first time and decided to stow away on the Fairfield. They had come from various backgrounds.

Luis, the only one of the six to have a passport—for Venezuela—had been a mechanic in Barcelona. "All I ask is security," he says to interviewers.

Emilio, twenty-three, a migratory farm laborer, served a term in a Franco prison after the collapse of the Loyalist armies, in which he fought at the age of fourteen.

Daniel, twenty-five, had been a clerk in Saragosa. "Why did I want to come to your country?" he said to me. "It is the dream of all Europeans. . . . I hated the Franco regime with my whole heart." He was wearing a suit bought for him from the ship's stores by the Fairfield's engineer. "I hid on the poop deck for eight days before the ship sailed," he said. "We lived on chocolate stolen from the ship's stores." Daniel, like several of the others, walked over the frontier. None of the six had shoes when they came aboard, crew members testified.

Enrique, eighteen, had made 20 cents a day as a carpenter's apprentice in Madrid. "I, too, have been arrested," he said. "It was for stealing two heads of cabbage when my family had not eaten for two days. You have much food in America."

José, eighteen, from Valencia, had been a seaman on an intercoastal ship at a salary of 300 pesetas—about $20—a month. He had not belonged to a union because there are no longer any free unions in Spain, only Franco's syndicates. His handsome dark eyes flashed as he told me, "Never will I serve under the flag of General Franco. If

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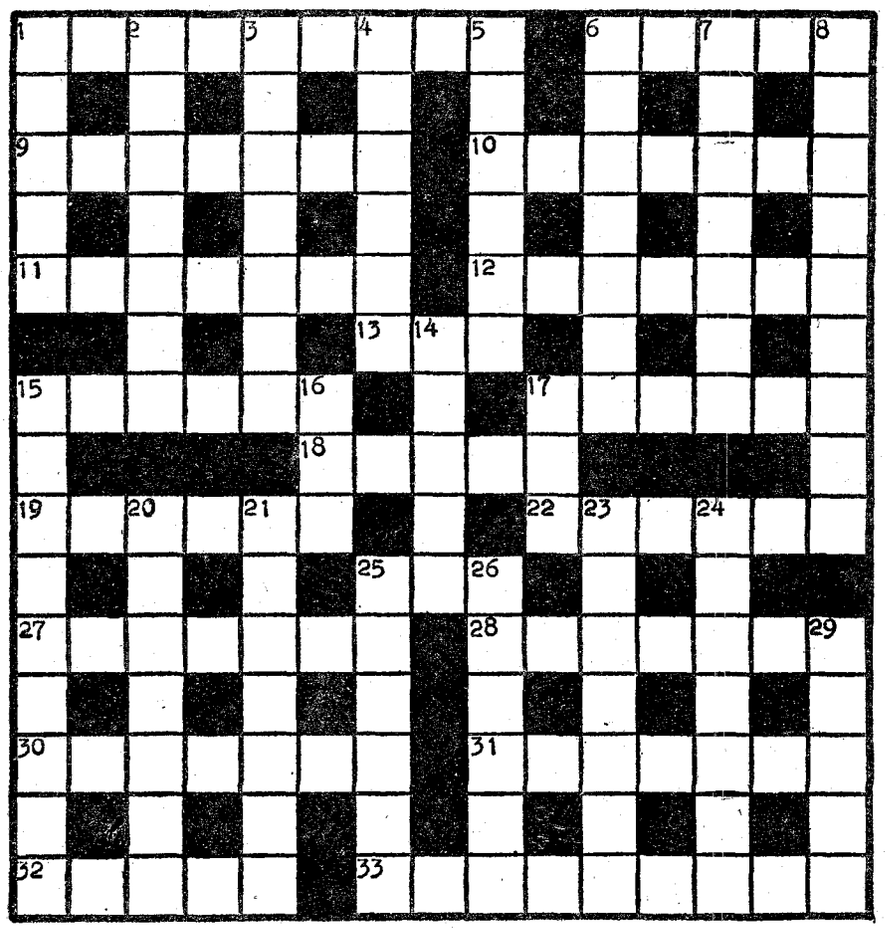
Crossword Puzzle No. 243

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The curious part of rubric abracadabra. (9)
6 Horatius' battle-line. (5)
9 A kind of dog is also metal. (7)
10 Points in California? (7)
11 Gad-about parties. (7)
12 This used to be eighth, but now it's tenth. (7)
13 A river bend in a way. (3)
15 Please make it pass! (6)
17 One can see nothing on either side of the harbor here. (6)
18 This day is celebrated in Africa. (5)
19 The place that doesn't show. (6)
22 Juvenile wardrobe has a way of being accounted for. (6)
25 Doesn't sound like a prehistoric animal! (3)
27 Makes a rim seem wet. (7)
28 Famous city-state associated with an Empire. (3, 4)
30 It's hard, but one isn't always safe here. (7)
31 Pain, or utter confusion. (7)
32 Start for a country in Africa, but wind up in the hole. (5)
33 Concerning relations with the underground? (9)

DOWN

1 Kipling called it frantic. (5)
2 In a goddesslike state. (7)
3 This poor sap has something to do with the case! (7)
4 Wandered out of danger. (6)
5 Mons Meg is a famous one. (6)
6 A rocky place for baby. (7)
7 How not to be Tory, and yet get beat? (7)
8 Dammed up as the river rose. (8)
14 Frequently refers to decimals. (5)
15 and 20 Visitors from Calcutta? (4, 5, 7)
16 The last word in pictures! (3)
17 Antonym of 25 across' homonym. (3)
20 See 15 down.
21 Hurried up to the lower tiers. (7)
23 A visiting nurse looks in this direction. (7)
24 Make fascist? (7)
25 Three such in German, but two in French. (6)
26 Harmonizes when the tune is changed. (6)
29 Trim up the submarine parts. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 242

ACROSS:—1 RAGAMUFFIN; 6 SCOT; 10 PARTIAL; 12 CARELESS; 13 NAOMI; 15 HEELS; 17 ONEROUSLY; 19 EURIPIDES; 21 GREEN; 23 ALIBI; 24 CRYSTALS; 27 ELECTED; 28 SAMURAI; 29 SASH; 30 PRESS AGENT.

DOWN:—1 RAPT; 2 GARBAGE; 3 MOIRE; 4 FALSEHOOD; 5 IDOLS; 7 CURIOUS; 8 TESTIFYING; 9 SWAN SONG; 14 SHOEMAKERS; 16 SOPHISTS; 18 ESSAYISTS; 20 RAIDERS; 22 ENLARGE; 24 CIDER; 25 TAMPA; 26 and 11 across; DIET OF WORMS.

Spain had a democratic government, you would not be troubled by us."

Manuel, twenty-five, had served in the navy. At the time of his escape he was being pressed into the Falange. "In that time which all of us remember," he said, "I fought with my brothers against Franco, in the mountains." His brothers were killed and he himself still carries a bullet in his leg.

Enrique and José were children when Madrid fell, but liberty is a word which, though long in disuse, has not lost meaning in Spain. From conversations with foreign sailors and from a leaflet picked up on the steps of the American consulate they had formed the same picture as the older ones—of a free world at the end of the westward ship lanes.

What the boys want, assuming they are not allowed to remain in the United States, is to go to Mexico or Venezuela. This would involve granting them transit visas to travel legally from Seattle to their destination. The decision is up to the American public, final court of appeal in any case involving human rights.

KATHLEEN CRONIN

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